/341 cont./

243 825 532 Parrots are veritable plagues for agriculture in the Chaco and cause great damage. In order to fight their voracious bands the Chiriguano make scarecrows by attaching to the tip of flexible poles the masks they wear during the carnival festivities and which they have no use for afterward (Fig. 8). It is the need to be constantly /342/ on the watch to repulse the intrusion of these formidable bands of plunderers which obliges the Indians to come and live in their fields as soon as the corn ripens. The children and young people have the task of frightening off by their shouts these insatiable marauders. As soon as they see or hear a flock of parrots, they emit a long modulation which, it seems, has the effect of scaring them. If 243 411 the parrots come too near or perch on the fields, the Indians make them flee by bombarding them with stones with their slings. They have two kinds of these. Wherever the Chiriguano [177] are in direct contact with the Quichua /Quechua/, these slings are of wool (Plate VII, 1 and 2); elsewhere, especially in the Caipipendí valley, they are of vegetable fibers and made according to the net technique (Plate VII, 3). No doubt the Chiriguano borrowed this weapon from the Andean populations. To be convinced of this it suffices to compare the slings of the Indians and half-breeds of the department of Tarija with that of the Chiriguano (Rosen, 1, Fig. 267, p. 261).

[825] Another means of scattering the birds is to stretch a string above the fields. I do not know the effect that this measure can have on them.

243 825 [351] The fields of the Chiriguano Indians are always surrounded by a high, thick hedge which protects them from animals, wandering cows and horses, which could get in and play havoc with them. Grasshoppers sometimes do them much harm. In the Caipipendí valley I saw a field in which they were swarming and which seemed to have been abandoned for this reason (1).

1. When grasshoppers are particularly numerous, the Chiriguano dig ditches which they make them go into and in which they bury them. (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 83.)

1: Métraux--90 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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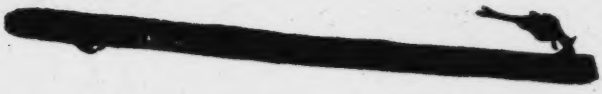

Fig. 16. Perch with troughs for tame parrots which the Chiriguano use for catching wild ones. Prov.: Ñawirenda. (1/10 nat. size.)

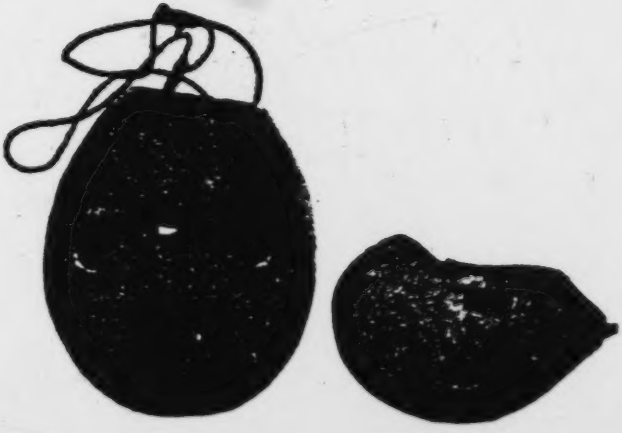

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Fig. 17. Perforated calabashes in which the Chiriguano put chicks to protect them from birds of prey. Prov.: a, Carurutí; b, Ibopeytí. (1/4 nat. size.)

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

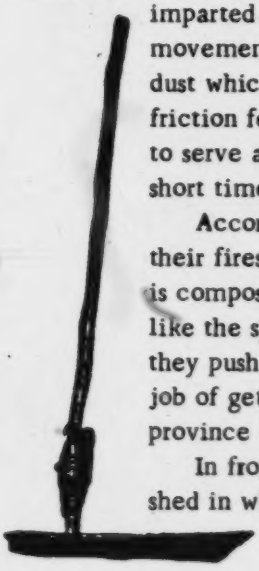
354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 26).

[462] [313]

343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The



[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/6 nat. size.)

roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a [789] [825] child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/355 cont./

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Fig. 26. Chiriguano woman lighting a fire. Upper Pilcomayo. (Photo. A. M.)

262
[005] do not hunt nor eat this animal (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 3).

[056] Medicine men cannot under any circumstances eat pimento. If a man refuses to taste this condiment, one can be sure he is a magician (id., p. 184).

[065] Grilled corn is strictly forbidden for persons in mourning, whose tears would dry up if they ate this dish.

[825] [069] the exclusive right to eat deer meat, which thus instilled in them the agility and suppleness of this animal. Women could eat, without

/480 cont./
75 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence ɬiyari ɬerungarunga tein, iróí á ɬe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. [827] These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

755 756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special study to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupaî bark is a disinfectant 752 257 824 which hastens the healing of wounds.

31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 [302] 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inái seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarái is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 •825 42. A species of bug (tambeyùa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

Farming.—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger extent than any other *Tupi-Guarani tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapetí region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

Chiriguano men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

Collecting wild food.—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

Hunting.—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chaco SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiripuno* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiripuno chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiripuno* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "*é, é*" instead of the childish "*ú, ú.*"

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1809 b, p. 208), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

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/For a listing of the various types of native fauna in the Chiriguano area and their cultural recognition and use by the people, see category 116, pp. 80-98./

/133/

793 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538]
• [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

796 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other
193 good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition
792 and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
• [825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Güiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

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756 /147 cont./
731
825 According to the story of Guaretai, the choncho is the
776 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Tetê walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/152 cont./

756 278 825 Then she waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss. When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 278 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[i.e., the sorceress-Analyst]

/181 cont./
462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

• [825] 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard, Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[239] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

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825 1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

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[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/277/

726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field
•[825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the
714 queremba order the preparations; the riders saddle their horses
292 and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiru, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguaráti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

/218 cont./

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If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

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Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

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strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

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6: Nordenskiöld--77 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Mataco SF7
Ee 838 171c Ce [1/3]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee 839 171 c Ce 833 171 [839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824 Ea 825 773 839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171 Ee [126]

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

C
821

/295 cont./

The waxing and waning of the moon, according to Maringay's explanation, was caused by the fact that a larger or smaller piece of it is put in the firmament.

C
821
177

The sun rises over the water and then shines for us during the day. In the evening it dips into the water again, and at night it shines for the other human beings on the other side of the earth. This was Maringay's idea of the course of the sun. I believe, however, that he learned this from the whites.

Ce
821
784
[763]

When a meteor, "baeréndi," falls, it means the death of a chief. About a shooting star, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti said: "He is going to sleep with his girl." Maringay was more realistic in his explanation. "The star lets something fall," said the old man.

Ce
821
[789]
[825]
[784]
[484]

/296/ When it thunders, Chiquéritunpa is walking about. The medicine men, "ipáye," are able to make rain. When the swallow, "máchurupimpi," flies low, it will rain, the Indians say. Another bird, "chóncho," announces rain. If one is going traveling, one should not put a jug in water, but dip up the water with a calabash, otherwise it will rain. In a

Ce
821
773

myth about the destruction of the world related to me by the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, the world is destroyed by water. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me how the world was

Ce
821
[784]
[825]

destroyed by a storm. Otherwise the wind plays an unimportant role in the myths. If one places a warmed jug in flowing water, there will be a storm, say the Chané on the Rio Parapiti. The rainbow, "yii," is a snake.

or a district threatened with flooding through rainfall or the flowing in of the oceanic tide. In my opinion, however, this has usually not been the case.

According to my thinking, it is the fear of predatory animals that has given rise to the pile-construction idea. Those granaries built on pole-supports, that are so commonly met with in widely different countries, have, we know, as a rule been constructed for the express purpose of furnishing protection against noxious animals, such as lesser carnivora, rodents and insects. As an example, the »njalla» of the Lapps is built

Fig. 190. Part of a Chiriguano village. To the right a pile-barn. Ibitibi. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

as a protection against wolverines[1], and many of the native tribes of Africa erect their food depositories, or grain bins, on pole-supports to make them safe against mice and white ants.[2] Both the Balenge people, who inhabit a fairly arid country, and the Babisa, who live on the edge of the Bangweulo swamp, build their corn bins on piles.[3] As the Babisa often build their huts on a platform of beaten clay[4] (not piles, it will be noted) as a protection against the annual heavy floodings of the rainy season, this will naturally give rise to the supposition that the Babisa

[1] see Dudeen (1), p. 35.
[2] see Rosen (1), pp. 411—412.
[3] see Rosen (1), pp. 332, 349 (fig. A), and 411—412.
[4] see Rosen (1), p. 319 and plate 67 (figs. C and D), also plate 68, fig. D.

[P 196 is blank]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342 granaries, at any rate, are raised on supports in order to keep the stored
343 crop from getting wet. That such is not the case will, however, be
825 apparent from the fact that the granaries are empty during the time of
171 the rains. It should be remembered that, in these parts, the period of
174 vegetation coincides with the duration of the rainy season, and that the crops are harvested and stored only after the cessation of the rains. During the time the grain reposes in the granaries no rain falls at all, and on that account the granaries of the Balenge are often unprovided with a roof.[1] Moreover, Babisa, as well as Balenge, stated that the pile-built grain bins were constructed solely as a protection against damage to the corn from rats and white ants. The practice of erecting buildings on piles as a safeguard against flooding is entirely non-existent in the Bangweolo region.

Fig. 193. Ancient Peruvian hut. Vase-painting. After Joyce.

The fundamental idea of storing food in structures built on piles may, in my opinion, be traced back to the custom of primitive peoples of keeping freshly killed meat, and other food, safe from depredation by larger or smaller raiding animals, by suspension on trees. The »njalla», which is erected on a single pole, or on the lopped stem of a growing tree left on its root, may, I think, be taken to be a development of the primitive tree cache. The four-poled Lappish larder called »luopte», or »luove» (cfr. the Swedish words »loft», and »lave»), is on the other hand most probably an imitation of the »hebrä» stores of the land-settled folk, which, presumably, also have received their pile-building construction with a view to forming a protection against noxious animals. For the »hebrä» is probably nothing but a development of the »lave». In order to keep divers implements safe, not only from wild animals, but also from mischievous domestic cattle, such as goats, it is sometimes necessary to construct at the homestead a »lave», the floor of which is either supported by three or four rooted tree-stumps, or by poles driven into the ground (fig. 189). When it is desired to shelter the stored utensils from rain, a roof is built at a suitable height from the floor, and if a still more effective shelter is required, the space between the floor and the roof is filled in with walls. At the stone-age

[1] von Rosen (4), fig. 335.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

experiment carried out at Rockelstad in the summer of 1919[1], the» stone-age men» soon found themselves compelled to build a »lave» so that the goats should not damage such foodstuffs and implements as had to be kept outside the hut.[2]

It is my belief that the »lave» has also supplied the idea of building dwelling-houses on pole-supports. Wherever people in a certain stage of civilization have found themselves settled on solid ground, they have had need of raised food-platforms, partly for keeping their foodstuffs safe from damage on the part of domestic as well as noxious animals, partly for the purpose of drying, smoking or roasting the food (see pp. 38, 47 and 48). If such a people, living on the edge of a lake or a swamp, had wished — for defensive purposes or some other reason — to build their dwelling-huts or other buildings in the water, then, if the bottom of the lake afforded good holding for piles, such buildings would have been constructed in the same way as the food-platforms or pole-supported granaries previously employed on firm ground (compare fig. 28 with fig. 115). Where the people in question has been lacking in sufficient skill to construct large pile-buildings in the water, or if the lake-bottom was unsuited to this mode of construction, then huts were built on rafts or quagmire islands, after the manner of the swamp dwellers of Alvastra and Bangweolo.[3]

The furnishing of the Chiriguano huts is exceedingly plain. The fire-place, which forms a very necessary heating centre at night during the cold season, consists of a few stones serving as supports for the cooking pots. There is no hole in the roof for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way out through the doorway or through fissures in the walls. As a rule, the food is generally cooked on a fire outside the hut (fig. 189).

Bedsteads of the type seen in fig. 190 are to be found in nearly every hut. These bed frames are made of laths or reeds, and are covered with skins. Nordenskiöld states as his opinion that the idea of these bedsteads has not been borrowed from the civilization of the whites.[4] In the analytical treatise he has written upon this question he adduces conclusive arguments for his opinion, as it seems to me. In Central Africa, one finds bedsteads that are very similar to the Indian ones,[5] and that certainly have not

[1] Klein, pp. 88—89.
[2] Klein (1).
[3] For lake- and marsh dwelling-places in different parts of the world, see Mannhus (1).
[4] Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 8—12.
[5] von Rosen (6), p. 403.